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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

USC/FAR Doc. No. 32
July 18, 1973

MEMORANDUM

TO:

FROM: INR/XR - E. Raymond Platig, USC/FAR Executive Secretary

SUBJ: Additional Material for the July 25 Meeting of the USC/FAR

This is a follow-up to my memorandum of July 10 (USC/FAR Doc. No. 31). That memorandum informed you of the time (2:30 p.m., Wednesday, July 25) and place (Main State, Room 1105) for our next meeting and transmitted some pieces of the Third Consolidated Research Plan. Most important of the latter was PART III of the Third Plan on which your comments were solicited.

That earlier memorandum also informed you that prior to the meeting we would send out a Secretariat draft of PART II of the Plan dealing with USC/FAR Research Objectives. PART II starts on p. 4 of the attachment, the first three pages being PART I, "Summary of Major Points." Thus you have in hand drafts of all three parts of the Third Plan plus the Appendix. (See the Table of Contents preceding PART III.)

As indicated earlier, the major item of business for the July 25 meeting will be to discuss new USC/FAR Research Objectives and to agree on those, if any, to be included in the Third Plan. PART II, Section C of the attachment contains three new suggested objectives. If there are additional ones you would like considered, please forward your drafts to me at least 24 hours before the meeting to permit time for reproduction and agenda construction.

Draft copies of the three parts of the Plan (plus Appendix) now in your hands are in short supply. Our business at the meeting will be greatly expedited if you bring your copies with you.

Again, if you have questions concerning these and earlier preparations for the meeting, please call me at 632-1342 or Warren Reynolds at 632-0804.

Attachment:
As stated.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR POINTS

Trends and Emphases:

Like its predecessors, this Third USC/FAR Consolidated Research Plan for FY-1974+75 presents a multi-faceted description of the foreign affairs research plans projected by individual Member Agencies. This description is presented in Part III. Some of the more important trends and emphases are summarized below.

- As a group the USC/FAR Member Agencies plan for FY-74+75 to increase the level of their external research effort by 11.5% over that planned for FY-73+74. The total for FY-74+75 is \$54,599,000.
- AID and State both show planned funding increases; Defense and ACDA show decreases; USIA remains essentially steady.
- In terms of planned level of effort for FY-74+75, the Member Agencies rank as follows: AID (79.9%), Defense (12.7%), State (5.1%), USIA (2.2%), ACDA (0.1%).
- Leaving aside global or multi-regional studies (47.6% of the total USC/FAR effort) and those focussing on the U.S. (0.7%), the remaining eight regions rank as follows: Africa (28.4%), American Republics (9.4%), East Asia (5.4%), USSR (2.3%), Western Europe (2.0%), PRC (1.8%), NESR (1.5%), Eastern Europe (0.8%). This ordering, very similar to that in the Second Plan, reflects the large role played by AID in the total USC/FAR funding picture.
- Between them, the USSR and PRC will receive 4.1% of the USC/FAR's attention, up from about 3.5% in the Second Plan in which USC/FAR research objectives called for various actions to improve research on these countries.
- The study of affairs within foreign nations will receive 84.3% of the USC/FAR's research attention; the study of relations between and among nations will receive the remaining 15.7%.

- Between the Second and Third Plans there is an absolute as well as relative decline in research on international relations; whereas research on international political-social and military relations each show a steep decline (43.1% and 37.2% respectively), that on international economic relations shows a small (3.4%) increase.
- State, USIA and the NSC Staff are the three Member Agencies that devote more of their resources to the study of international relations than to national affairs. AID's program is heavily weighted (93.3%) toward the study of national affairs.
- Concerning studies that focus on the national affairs of foreign countries, economic, political-social, and military affairs will receive attention roughly in the ratio of 11:10:1; not too much different from the Second Plan where the ratio was 13:11:1.
- As for research on international relations, economic, political-social, and military relations will receive attention roughly in the ratio of 2:1:2; a substantial shift from the Second Plan where the ratio was 2:2:3.
- Across all regions, economic, political-social and military matters--both national and international--receive attention roughly in the ratio of 5:4:1; a substantial decline in the emphasis given military matters in the Second Plan where the ratio was 3:3:1.
- Across all regions, science-technology matters--both national and international--receive only 0.4% of the USC/FAR's planned research effort.
- Contracts remain by far the most favored instrument of research support for the USC/FAR agencies as a group, accounting for 65.7% of all projected support; grants to institutions (primarily by AID) account for another 26.8% of the total.
- Depending upon the assumptions used, the USC/FAR favors applied research over basic research in the ratio 58/42 or 69/31.

New USC/FAR Research Objectives:

In the Second Plan, the Member Agencies agreed on six USC/FAR Research Objectives; in the intervening year, steps have been taken in pursuit of them. In preparing this Third Plan, the Member Agencies have agreed on three new objectives. These, along with a status report on the six original

objectives, are presented in Part II. The three new USC/FAR Research Objectives are listed below with action responsibilities indicated.

Objective III-1: Assess the state of research on the political, social, economic, military and foreign policy dynamics of the countries of the Near East & South Asia and develop recommendations in this field for the USC/FAR Agencies. ACTION: USC/FAR Consultative Group on Near East & South Asia.

Objective III-2: Explore the need and, as appropriate, recommend steps for advancing knowledge about the evolution, dynamics and long-range implications of emergent international society (societies) as manifested in multinational public and private institutions, areas of interdependence among nations and various transnational phenomena, with particular attention to the impact and implications of scientific and technological developments. ACTION: USC/FAR Consultative Group on International Political-Social Relations.

Objective III-3: Assist ACDA in assessing the priority research needs in the field of arms control and disarmament and develop recommendations in this field for the USC/FAR Agencies. ACTION: USC/FAR Consultative Group on International Military Relations.

PART II

USC/FAR RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

A. INTRODUCTION

As in the Second USC/FAR Consolidated Research Plan for FY-1973+74, this part of the current plan contains statements setting forth some common research objectives of the Member Agencies. For each objective, action responsibilities are specified.

In developing these statements, Members first reviewed and evaluated the data on resource magnitudes and allocations presented in Part III of this Plan in order to identify major "gaps" or "imbalances." While doing so, they were mindful of the continuing pertinence of the USC/FAR Research Objectives contained in the Second Plan. Section B below provides a brief status report on each of those Research Objectives.

Also in assessing the data in Part III, Members were fully aware that there exists no simple set of criteria applicable to evaluating the adequacy, scope and balance of the planned research effort. Even if some rational model of sufficiency and balance in foreign affairs research were to exist, it could not be used to judge the USC/FAR planned program unless the model took adequate account, inter alia, of the following factors: (1) National and agency policy and mission priorities, (2) the levels and distribution of support for external research on foreign affairs provided by all other government agencies and by the private sector; (3) the magnitude, scope and emphases of pertinent government in-house research; (4) the extent to which new research is an important

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element in improving the content of present or future policy; (5) those foreign sensitivities and national security factors which may make external research supported by USC/FAR Member Agencies particularly difficult or inappropriate.

However imprecisely and impressionistically, estimates of these and other factors were in the minds of Members as they assessed the data in Part III and agreed on the new USC/FAR Research Objectives contained in Section C below. Pursuit of these Research Objectives, they believe, will help effect changes in their research support for the years ahead in ways that will enhance the contributions their programs can make to the broad national research effort on foreign affairs. Others may disagree with the judgments on which rest the selection and formulation of these Research Objectives. It is partly to invite those who disagree to share their views with the USC/FAR Member Agencies that this Third Plan will be widely distributed in and out of government.

One final introductory note. In evaluating the data in Part III, the Members made no ^{systematic} attempt to identify "gaps" and "imbalances" within the various regional categories and major functional fields. It was decided that these tasks are best left to the regional and functional USC/FAR Consultative Groups, each of which has not only the appropriate expertise but also the advantage of being closer to the action as plans are implemented through specific project contracts and grants. All USC/FAR Consultative Group Chairmen are requested to make this an early item of business upon their receipt of this Third Plan.

B. OBJECTIVES OF THE SECOND PLAN: STATUS REPORT

The six USC/FAR Research Objectives listed below were adopted in conjunction with preparation of the Second Plan in the summer of 1973. This section reports on actions taken in pursuit of these objectives during the intervening year. Action on two of the objectives (II-3 and II-4) is completed, that on the remaining four continues.

Objective II-1: Improve the bases of choice in foreign affairs through the development and application of quantitative analytical techniques.

The USC/FAR Consultative Group on General Research charged to act on this Objective, has focussed its attention on a National Science Foundation-sponsored "Conference on the Successes and Failures of Scientific International Relations Research." The Group felt that this conference, which convened in California late in June, 1973, could be an important first step toward accomplishing Objective #1. The Chairman and other interested members of the Group therefore kept in touch with the NSF project officer and are now arranging for a late summer meeting of the Group with the conference Chairman. The Group will then consider what, in pursuit of Objective #1, might be useful next steps to capitalize on the results of the NSF-sponsored conference.

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Objective II-2: Improve External Foreign Affairs Research on the PRC by Increasing the Exchange of Well-Ordered Data Between the Government and the Academic Community.

The USC/FAR Executive Secretariat, working in concert with the Chairman of the USC/FAR Consultative Groups on East Asia and General Research, convened a number of ad hoc meetings of selected officers from Member and other agencies in order better to define the problem and map a course of action. There emerged a solid consensus that more precise knowledge was needed about those factors which all agreed are important to making an exchange of China data feasible and useful in addition to its being desirable. Since information about these factors is widely scattered in both the government and the academic community, it was decided that the service of a competent scholar with government experience was needed to conduct an inquiry and prepare a feasibility study. For this purpose, the Department of State has negotiated a contract with Professor Davis Bobrow of the University of Minnesota. To assure maximum coordination, Professor Bobrow will work closely with a sub-group of the Chinese-English Translation Assistance project (CETA). CETA is itself an interagency activity closely related to the USC/FAR Consultative Group on East Asia and involving a high degree of government-academic cooperation. Professor Bobrow's study is expected to be completed near the end of 1973. In the meantime, this Third Plan shows that the USC/FAR plans to increase substantially the level of support for external research on the PRC: from \$591,000 for FY-73+74 to \$1,010,000 for FY-74+75.

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Objective II-3: Develop Common Approaches to USC/FAR Member Agency Support of Policy Studies with Multi-Agency Interest.

To take action on this Objective, the USC/FAR Chairman named two State Department officers as co-chairmen of an ad hoc working group on policy studies. Nine Member and Observer Agencies designated representatives to serve on the Group. As indicated in the ^{Second} Plan, the Group took as its primary task to assess the desirability and feasibility of a multi-agency program of competitively awarded grants (or contracts) to university foreign affairs policy study groups. A series of preliminary questions and guidelines was circulated to members of the group for comments. The responses made clear that almost all agencies felt one or more of the following to be true: common approaches presuppose a greater mutuality of interests on the part of USC/FAR agencies than actually exists; policy studies should be an integral part of agency research programs, not separated out for special treatment; in a period of budgetary constraint, the USC/FAR should avoid raising false hopes that it might become a new source of research funds; university based research has no unique claim on the research budgets of mission agencies. It was therefore decided that further action on this Objective had little chance of bearing fruit and should be abandoned.

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Objective II-4: Reverse the Persistent Downward Trend in the Funding of Policy-Related Foreign Affairs Research.

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In September /the Chairman of the Under Secretaries Committee sent a memorandum to the Heads and Deputy Heads of Member and Observer Agencies calling attention to this Objective and inviting all the funding departments and agencies to consider making increased allocations for foreign affairs external research from their FY-1973 and FY-1974 appropriations. He also asked the Office of Management and Budget to give a particularly sympathetic hearing to those departments and agencies requesting higher funding levels in FY-1974. Table III-2 in this Third Plan shows that the Department of Defense was the only Member Agency that found it possible to increase its estimated funding for either FY-1973 or FY-1974. All others show a decrease for both years. As a result, the USC/FAR total currently estimated for FY-73+74 is \$1,483,000 short of the \$49,291,000 estimated for those two years in the Second Plan. However, for FY-1975, AID, State and USIA have projected increases which will bring the currently estimated USC/FAR total for FY-74+75 up to \$54,599,000 despite a projected/decrease by Defense and the absence of FY-1975 data from ACDA and the NSC Staff. The increase projected by AID/^{for FY-1975} makes the major contribution to this welcome reversal of the downward trend of the past several years.

As part of this Objective, most Member Agencies also expressed support for recent increases in the size of the State Department's program and for its accelerated growth. Figures contained in this Third Plan show that State plans to continue this growth at least through FY-1975. Finally, in connection with the FY-1973 program, the USC/FAR Chairman gave encouragement to collaborative funding arrangements involving State and other agencies, particularly the Department of Defense/ ^{and AID.} As a result, State and DoD arranged

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during FY-1973 collaborative funding on three projects costing a total of \$158,954 and the two Departments plan further collaborative projects for FY-1974. In addition, State and four other agencies entered into two additional collaborative projects costing a total of \$70,000. Through these ^{collab} arrangements the State budget ^(+ 000) has in effect been stretched to meet a larger portion of its priority research needs than could be covered by its own funds alone.

Other than giving continuing encouragement to the collaborative funding of projects, no further action in pursuit of this Objective is currently contemplated. However, the USC/FAR Member Agencies will review the situation as part of each annual planning cycle.

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Objective II-5: Improve government support for and USC/FAR Member Agency use of Soviet studies conducted in the private sector.

The USC/FAR Consultative Group on Europe, to which action on this Objective was assigned, discussed in December various private and government-sponsored assessments of the state of Slavic studies. The participants reviewed their respective agency research plans and concluded that there was little immediate prospect of government action to reverse the marked decline of support for research on Soviet studies. In discussing an academic community proposal to establish in Washington a small center for Soviet studies, the Group expressed doubt about the availability of government funds for basic institutional support but felt that agencies with contract programs involving Soviet studies would find such a center quite helpful in connection with selected projects and as a means of deepening relations with the academic community. Private scholars associated with the center idea indicate that prospects for private funding are brightening. The Chairman of the Consultative Group on Europe is also seeking to facilitate private research by consulting with other government officers on the practicality of expanding U.S.-Soviet scholar and book exchange programs. In addition, the Chairman and senior planning officials of the Department of State recently visited a number of research institutes in Eastern Europe and the USSR. Finally, this Third Plan shows that the USC/FAR Member Agencies plan to increase somewhat their support for external research on the USSR: from \$1,061,000 for FY-73+74 to \$1,254,000 for FY-74+75.

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Objective 11-6: Expand and improve government support for policy-related external research in international economic relations.

The USC/FAR Consultative Group on International Economic Relations, to which action on this Objective was assigned, met in January, 1973. Discussion centered on the growing importance and complexity of research in this field, on past efforts to set research priorities, and on the large number of interested government agencies. It was then decided to set up a working group to assess, in accord with this objective, the adequacy of government support for external research on international economic relations, to suggest priorities for such research which take into account relevant in-house research and to study machinery for insuring improved pre-contract coordination of external research projects.

The working group, consisting of representatives from Treasury, NSC, CIEP and State, met in April, 1973 and decided to concentrate first on improving the pre-contract coordination of projects. In experimenting with devices for this purpose, the working group has had encouraging cooperation from five other agencies, some of which participated in a May meeting. Cooperative project design and the possibility of joint funding is particularly promising in connection with one major project dealt with by the working group. This group intends to offer additional projects for such collaboration in FY-1974 before reporting back to the USC/FAR Consultative Group on International Economic Relations.

Under the Third Plan, funds for research on international economic relations, unlike those for any other field of international relations research, will be larger in FY-74+75 than they were in FY-73+74. Despite this 3.4% increase, the fields share of the total for all foreign affairs research will decrease from 6.7% to 6.2%.

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C. NEW RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The following objectives are those agreed to by the USC/FAR Member Agencies in conjunction with preparation of this Third Plan.

Objective III-1: Assess the State of Research on the Political, Social, Economic, Military and Foreign Policy Dynamics of the Countries of the Near East & South Asia and Develop Recommendations in this Field for the USC/FAR Agencies.

According to this Third Plan, the USC/FAR Member Agencies as a group plan to spend in FY-74+75 1.5% (\$808,000) of their total external research resources on studies centered on the Near East & South Asia. This represents a substantial decline from the 3.5% (\$1,724,000) that the Second Plan allocated to this region for FY-73+74.

To a large degree this decrease reflects the fact that in the earlier planning period the AID projection (\$850,000) accounted for almost half the total, whereas in the current planning period AID projects no work on the area. Although State and USIA each show significant percentage increases, the magnitudes are such that these fall far short of balancing a sharp decline in Defense's allocation.

It is not readily apparent whether the level of effort projected for FY-74+75 is either adequate or optimally programmed to meet the needs of the U.S. Government. Superficially, the importance of the area would seem to require a greater level of effort. But the difficulties of conducting the nature of the problems in the area, social science research in many countries of the region, the state of government in-house research, and the state of private research may be such as to indicate that the planned level is appropriate. Judgments differ on these matters both in the government and in the private research sector. Since the area is a large and diverse one, different judgments may well be appropriate for different countries or sub-regions.

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The USC/FAR Member Agencies believe that the region is of sufficient importance to the U.S. Government to justify an effort to reach a more definitive judgment on these issues than now prevails. Therefore:

Action III-1: The USC/FAR Consultative Group on the Near East & South Asia is requested to undertake the assessment called for in this objective and to develop recommendations appropriate for the FY-1975-79 time frame. To assist in next year's planning cycle, the Group Chairman should deliver a status report to the USC/FAR Chairman no later than February 1, 1974.

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Objective III-2: Explore the need and, as appropriate, recommend steps for advancing knowledge about the evolution, dynamics and long-range implications of emergent international society (societies) as manifested in multinational public and private institutions, areas of interdependence among nations and various transnational phenomena, with particular attention to the impact and implications of scientific and technological developments.

Some important schools of contemporary thought hold that the society of nation-states is being transformed into a world society if not a global village. Economic and military interdependencies among nations are said to point in this direction. Advances in the life, physical and behavioral sciences are said to contain the seeds of new technologies that will add impetus to the transformation already accelerated by jet transportation, television, satellite communications, etc. The "international culture of science" is itself seen by some as an element contributing to the transformation, as are tourism, multinational corporations, international professional associations, and common elements in the aspirations and ecological settings of the world's peoples.

Despite the proliferation of regional and global international public and private institutions having either general or highly specialized functions, it is frequently said that the international political forms and practices for coping with either the transformation or its outcome have yet to be instituted. Indeed, for some, the adequacy of prevailing political concepts is being challenged and appropriate new concepts are yet to be invented, let alone accepted.

The extent to which some of the above language of transformation and interdependence has found its way into official U.S. policy statements suggests the need to better sort out the fundamental from the ephemeral in these matters. Yet the USC/FAR Member Agencies plan to devote only a miniscule portion of their external research resources to the support

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of studies that would contribute directly to that task.

This Third Plan shows that as one of ten broad functional fields for research, international political-social relations will command only 3.6% (\$1,980,000) of USC/FAR resources for FY-74+75, down from 7.1% in the FY-73+74 planning period. Within this field, research focussed specifically on global or regional international organizations will be supported at the level of \$108,000. USC/FAR resources planned for the study of international relations in the oceans, outer-space, the environment, etc., amount to \$57,000. By a generous interpretation, one could add to these sums \$155,000 planned for the study of national science-technology affairs and \$81,000 for the study of international organizations for economic cooperation. The grand total of \$401,000 represents about .7% of the USC/FAR total for FY-74+75.

Do these figures suggest a serious gap in the planning of the USC/FAR Member Agencies? Or is it a gap made acceptable on the grounds that sufficient research attention is being given to this area of concern by the private research sector and such agencies as the National Science Foundation, the Atomic Energy Commission, units of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Environmental Protection Agency, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration, etc? If the latter, are the USC/FAR Member Agencies sufficiently cognizant of this body of research to tap those results that bear in important ways on foreign and national security policy?

The USC/FAR Member Agencies have no agreed answers to these questions but believe them of sufficient importance to adopt this objective and expend some effort in its pursuit. Therefore:

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Action III-2: The USC/FAR Consultative Group on International Political-Social Relations is requested to undertake the exploration called for in this objective and to develop recommendations appropriate for the FY-1975-79 time frame. To assist in next year's planning cycle, the Group Chairman should deliver a status report to the USC/FAR Chairman no later than February 1, 1974.

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Objective III-3: Assist ACDA in assessing the priority research needs in the field of arms control and disarmament and develop recommendations in this field for the USC/FAR Agencies.

Table III-2 in this Third Plan shows a steep decline in the funding of external research by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, from over \$675,000 in FY-69 to an estimated \$166,000 in FY-73 to a projected \$35,000 in FY-74. Furthermore, whereas the USC/FAR Member Agencies as a group planned for FY-73+74 to spend \$339,940 on the two functional sub-fields that deal directly with arms control matters, the figure for FY-74+75 is \$265,000 with all but \$38,000 of that projected by Defense and State.

It is perhaps open to question whether these changes are more the result of a reasoned assessment of the government's need for external research in this field or more the result of the vagaries of the budget-making and appropriations process. In any event, ACDA has indicated that it will be reviewing the adequacy of its FY-74 program and determining the amount it will request for FY-75. Other Member Agencies believe that they as well as the ACDA review will benefit from a coordinated effort to assess the government's needs in this field. Therefore:

Action III-3: The USC/FAR Consultative Group on International Military Relations is requested to assist ACDA, through its representative to that Group, in making the assessment called for by this objective and developing recommendations appropriate for the FY-1975-79 time frame. To be helpful in next year's planning cycle, the Group Chairman should ILLEGIB deliver a status report to the USC/FAR Chairman no later than February 1, 1974.